UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

Walt Whitman

A POEM

By ZONA GALE

Intellectual Focussing — A Message for Unitarians and Other Religious Liberals

By M. C. OTTO

A Century of the American Peace Movement

By EDWIN D. MEAD

American Notes—The Connecticut Valley

By SYDNEY STRONG

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UNITY

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Editors:

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**
Curtis W. Reese **Louis L. Mann**

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CI | MONDAY, MAY 28, 1928 | NUMBER 13

Walt Whitman

[In celebration of Whitman's Birthday, May 31, 1819.]

All these reasons for honoring this man:
That he was a democrat, simple, kindly, uncritical, silent.
That already to him the sins of malice, hatred, anger, cruelty, hardness,
Were as unthinkable as murder—
Were indeed erased, so that they did not exist.
Save as the earthquakes, volcanoes, immaturities of some growth.
And further that virtues, the virtues of democracy,
Simplicity, kindliness, tolerance, silence,
Were not known to him as virtues at all
But merely as process, like breathing, like heart-beat, like motion.
For he was integrated into life,
He was a member of life,
He was harmonized, orchestrated, identified with the program of being.
He practised the little precisions,—
His word had lost the power to wound,
Also he practised the great precisions—
His presence communicated an energy.
He had adapted himself to the Program.
He knew how to be.
All these reasons for honoring this man.

But there is another reason,
And this is the reason greatest of all,
For it is a reason shared with Christ, with Gautama,
And with the new race.
I mean that Walt Whitman possessed an inner consciousness,
Possessed the knowledge that you, that I, that every being,
Every animal, every growing thing, nay, every created object,
Has two aspects.
The one aspect that we ordinarily see,
The other interior, remote, near, shining,
"Interior consciousness," he called this.
"Etheric vision" he called this.
And for him it clothed every situation of life,
And for him it interpreted life, death, the universe.

What was this consciousness of his?
How shall we name it, recognize it, receive it?
This extension of faculty, this deepening of perception,
This heightening of awareness to another level,
As different as the view of the tadpole from the view of the fish?
All that we see is that some beings begin to breathe a better air,
So then we watch their acts and read their words,
As tonight we watch the acts and read the words
Of this man. And we say to another:
"It must be true that there is another, deeper way of seeing all things,
It must be true that there is another, deeper way of living our days,
It must be true that we could look in and in and in, as he looked,
But quietly, with no effort, with no complacence,
Almost with no use of the senses as we know the senses.
How is that done? How did Walt Whitman do that?
He saw nothing that is different from what we see.
He merely saw the same things with an infinite difference,
Saw them luminous, saw them clarified, saw them face to face
Saw men and things in some infinite dignity.
Oh, how did he do that, for we would do that too."

This is what he sayd:
". . . . The interior consciousness, like a hitherto unseen inscription in magic ink,
Beams out . . . . to the sense.
It is for the noiseless operation of one's isolated self
To enter the pure ether, reach the divine levels."
Now this means something as definite as day.
These are no vague ramblings, for this man was a man of sense,
Genial, humorous, hearty, alive.
Yet he sayd: ". . . . The interior consciousness, like an inscription in magic ink,
Beams out . . . . to the sense." What does he mean?
Is this interior consciousness something that he could have,
That a poet could have, but not you and I?
Certainly it is not so, for hear his words once more:
"A fitly born and bred race.
Would find it enough merely to live,
And would, in their relations to the sky, air, water, trees
And to the countless human shows
And in the fact of life itself
Discover and achieve happiness,
With Being suffused night and day with wholesome ecstasy."
Interior consciousness.
"Lo," he sayd, "to the consciousness of the soul,
There comes the permanent identity, the thought, the something
Before which the magnitude even of Democracy, art, literature,
Dwindles and becomes partial, measurable.
That something is the all. . . . and the idea of eternity . . . . and of the soul
Buoyant, indestructible, sailing space forever,
Visiting every region as a ship the sea.
Wherefrom I feel and know that death is not the ending,
But rather the beginning,
And that nothing is or can be lost,
Nor soul or matter."

I say to you that Walt Whitman had certain knowledge;
And that you and I may have certain knowledge,
He spake as a seer, and we can be seers.
For interior consciousness, etheric vision, cosmic consciousness
Is not an aristocratic privilege,
It belongs to the infinite democracy of spirit.
We have but to set ourselves to master its technique,
Life after life after life,
And for us the magic will some day shine
From every being, every growing thing, every created object,
And its other aspect will speak to us like a bell.
Then for all who see
Will rise the sovereign privilege
Of interpreting to their fellows as Whitman interpreted
Something of the nature of being.

Interior consciousness, etheric vision, cosmic consciousness
How shall it come to the new race?

Why, I think that it shall come to the simple, the kindly, the uncritical, the silent,
To those who are integrated into life,
Harmonized, orchestrated, identified with the program of being,
To those who know how to be.

ZONA GALE.

The fighting now going on in China between Japanese and Chinese armies sheds an illuminating light upon the question of offensive and defensive war. Who started this conflict? Well, somewhat as usual, it depends on the point of view! Here are two trained observers, for example, right on the spot, and they say exactly opposite things. Mr. Abend, special correspondent of the New York *Times,* reports that "the Chinese deliberately opened warfare against the Japanese." Nothing could be more definite than this statement! Yet Mr. Millard, special correspondent of the New York *Herald-Tribune,* reports that "the Japanese took the initiative, and when an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of Chinese troops from certain areas expired, the Japanese opened fire and attacked the Chinese outposts." Here is the ground laid for another endless controversy as to "who started the war." No answer, of course, is possible, or in such circumstance ever will be possible. Always is it "the other fellow" who is responsible. *You* are invariably fighting in defense, and your enemy as invariably in aggression. Any particular nation in any war is always, from its own point of view, utterly innocent of offense. Which means one thing with a clarity which even the half-witted must discern—that any attempt to obtain peace by doing away with *aggressive* war is doomed to failure before the ink is dried on the contract of agreement! Incidentally, we cannot refrain from pointing out that the combatants in this war on the Shantung peninsula are both of them members of the League of Nations.

In a review of Salvemini's book, "The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy," a recent critic makes a comment of momentous significance.

> The things the Fascists have done, (he says), have been done at the price of liberties which five generations of civilized men have regarded as indispensable to civilized human existence. The premise that underlies all of Salvemini's indictment of the Fascist regime is that what we may call "liberty" is more important than material well being; that any assault upon liberty is in itself reprehensible and immoral. . . . One may well stand aghast that after a century and a half of democracy in the western world so few are to be found who are as heroic and uncompromising as the relative handful of Italian exiles on this point.

Here is an observation which pierces straight to the heart of the situation in Italy. What we have there is the moral collapse of a great people—the sudden degeneracy of an entire nation. Nothing in all the nineteenth century, nothing within the compass of the last one thousand years, is more glorious than the story of the struggle of Italy for freedom from its alien oppressors. The banner of liberty was perhaps never lifted quite so high, and never shone therefore with quite so splendid a lustre, as in the hands of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, Manin, D'Azeglio, and their heroic compatriots. Under the leadership of these men, the Italian people wrote an immortal epic upon the pages of history. And it is the sons of these people who now sell their immortal heritage for the mess of pottage covered by the name of Mussolini. Curious, that men should not be intelligent enough to know that tyranny is tyranny whether domestic or foreign in its origin! Shameful, that men should not be proud enough to preserve liberty at any price! Yet of all these millions to whom was committed the sacred charge of all that was won for freedom in the great days of the Italian awakening, there is the merest "handful" who are faithful to the trust! Does this mean that the Italians are a degenerate people—that they are the sons, at bottom, not of the great emancipators, but of the slave hordes of ancient Rome who were kept tamely in bonds by the bribe of "bread and circuses"? We hesitate to believe it, yet Mussolini is playing the old game of the Caesars, and apparently getting away with it. Just here, as Salvemini and his reviewer point out, is the real nub of the Italian situation. Mussolini, like Augustus, is the glorious symbol of national decay.

Lord Dunsany is all for more and better wars. In an address in New York, recently, he declared, according to reports, that war is "benevolent nature's way of ridding a harassed world of economic riddles." We confess that we had imagined, after the experience of the Great War, that war, so far from ridding a harassed world of economic riddles, on the contrary beset a harassed world with such riddles. But Dunsany's chief argument for war was the contention that nature had only three ways of preventing over-population—famine, plague, and war, these three, and the greatest of these is war. "The world is filled," he said, "with conqueror's children." We've got to get rid of them, and war is the blessed way of doing it. If we have too much peace, "making a longer space between wars," nature has to make up for lost time, so she brings at last a great war, like the last war, to eliminate millions all at once. Much better is it to have a little war every once in a while, when thousands rather than millions can be destroyed. Retail murder is much easier and less horrible than wholesale murder. So, let's have more and better wars. All of which, apparently, Lord Dunsany means seriously! But the very age in which he lives is answering him. Thus, in the same newspaper which printed the story of his speech, there was printed a special despatch from Berlin, headed—"Births 6,046 Fewer Than Deaths in Berlin, and Mark Lowest Rate Yet Recorded." A few days earlier was reported the steady fall of the birth-rate in England. In France, the birth rate, long stationary, is now beginning to drop. Birth control is taking care of the situation. Over-population, a peril yesterday, is no longer a peril tomorrow—or may be no longer, if we are wise. Lord Dunsany's mind has not escaped from the age of barbarian hordes, and huge migrations, and ancient history

generally. We invite him to leave "the gods of the mountain," with their myths and hoary superstitions, and acquaint himself with men and facts today. This will save him from making silly speeches to credulous hearers.

The break-down of the jury-system is becoming more manifest every day. The failure to convict Mrs. Knapp in New York, following hard as it did upon the acquittal of Harry Sinclair in Washington, gives a final demonstration of the fact that something is wrong. This "something" is generally sought in the complexities and elaborations of our legal methods. The rules of evidence for example, are a manifest scandal, as was proved in the Sinclair case where so much vital information had to be excluded that the jury was simply unable to discover what it was all about. But we question if our court procedure, bad as it is from the standpoint of real as contrasted with theoretical justice, constitutes the whole of what is wrong. It is our conviction that there is something wrong with the times. Our moral standards are going; we have no high sense of public honor; anything is right if you can get away with it. How otherwise explain the public indifference, enduring to this very day, in the matter of the oil scandals? Here is the worst corruption this nation has ever known, and nobody apparently cares at all. The case of Mrs. Knapp is another illustration. The facts revealed by the government's investigator were so flagrant as to lead to a denunciation of unprecedented severity. Prosecution was immediately ordered, and indictment after indictment was presented by the grand jury without a dissenting vote. Then came the trial of the first indictment, with overwhelmingly convincing evidence massed against the defendant. The judge, obviously worried lest justice miscarry, took pains to warn the jury that there was no such thing as "honest graft," that public office was a trusteeship, and that stealing from the state was exactly the same as stealing from an individual. We have actually come to such a pass that a conscientious judge must teach elementary ethics of this kind to members of a jury! Yet the case failed. What are we going to do with a society which knows not morality?

We have just performed our annual duty, as a graduate of Harvard College, of voting for Overseers of the institution and also for officers of the Alumni Association. At the same time we have been experiencing our annual feeling of disgust and revulsion at the type of men put up for election to these responsible and representative offices. For the vacancies on the Board of Overseers, *sixteen* candidates were named. Of these, *seven* are lawyers, *two* are merchants, *one* a manufacturer, *one* a real estate operator, *one* a banker, *one* a surgeon, *one* a writer, *one* a social worker, and *one* an educator. Why so many lawyers, all of them with big financial and corporation connections? Why so liberal a proportion of business men and bankers? Why only one social worker, one author, and *one professional educator?* But if this is a curious assortment, look at the candidates for officers of the Alumni Association, and then rise up and testify! Of *nine* candidates, named, *four* are bankers, *one* is a lawyer, *one* a real estate investor, *one* the president of a lumber company, *one* an engineer, and *one* a research director. The bankers, the lawyers, the manufacturers, the realtors, and other men of practical affairs seem to "have it" on these lists! Against such men as representative citizens, we have no prejudice. But why should they predominate in such overwhelming proportion in offices determining the destiny of a college? What about ministers, scholars, teachers, poets, musicians, painters—are these not representative citizens also, and should these have no decisive voice in determining the issues of culture? We can think of no answer to these questions except the answer that Harvard is now primarily a property-holding and property-guarding institution, and that those who make and handle dollars are the men who are important to it. Our civilization, in other words, is a property civilization, and our social institutions are made accordingly. Yet Harvard was established, as we recall, to provide an educated ministry for this country!

Intellectual Focussing—A Message for Unitarians and Other Religious Liberals

A generation ago, when photography stepped out of the study into the walks of men, one of the things the novice had to learn was focussing. Cameras were furnished with a ground-glass and upon this the object to be photographed had to be brought to a clear image before a plate was exposed. It was a cumbersome process, as those will remember who went through that stage of photography. With his head under a black cloth the operator slid the lenz back and forth until the picture was at its clearest, a process frequently not as simple as it sounds. Then began the tussle with the plate holder, always a precarious venture. But the reward of the trouble was that one got clearness in one's photographs; objects in it were well defined.

It was a great convenience when the so-called universal focus camera was put on the market. Just about everything that was irksome in the old method was done away with. All one had to do now was to point

the box in the right direction and snap the shutter. The object might be from eight or less to a hundred or more feet away, yet, if the exposure was properly timed, the picture would turn out to be in focus—more or less. The definition was not quite at its best, perhaps, but the vast majority of camera users, being interested in getting the largest number of passable pictures with the least pains, rather than a smaller number of superior pictures with considerable pains, were satisfied with the balance of loss and gain.

Something of the same sort has taken place in the realm of intellect. When thinking on important matters was confined to the relatively few, who were interested in superior results, the first problem was one of accurate definition. Effort spent in bringing the question into focus was felt to be well spent. In recent decades, however, more and more emphasis has been put upon the necessity of getting the mass of men to think for themselves, to draw their own conclusions. And gradually the idea has captivated the popular mind. But the concern for adequate definition has not carried over. Those interested in the soundness of their conclusions still recognize that thinking involves discipline, and of a rigorous sort; but men and women in general have stopped with the doctrine that the important consideration is not so much the nature of the conclusions you draw as it is whether you arrive at them yourself or get them from others. As a result, there was perhaps never less intellectual focus than today; never so much claim to thinking with so little evidence of thought.

The situation presents a special danger to those whose sympathies range beyond the confines of conventional restrictions. It is a tendency of liberal minds to be devoted to what they call the spirit of movements as distinguished from specific ends to be attained. Often this is merely an uncritical phrase for the mental state of not quite believing anything in particular. It need not be a mere phrase for something so negative. But if it is to be more, it must be translatable into terms of devotion to ends as concrete and specific as those with which it is ordinarily contrasted. Some one has remarked that liberals, taken man for man, are gifted with greater powers of expression than conservatives are, and that they are correspondingly more loquacious. If this is true, one reason for it may perhaps be found in the conservative's flair for clear and distinct ideas, at times even to the disregard of complexities that would blur sharp outlines. At any rate, an obligation resting upon those who belong as leaders with the upward surging masses and who must unavoidably to some extent reflect their weaknesses, is the obligation to clarify aims as much as this is possible; to resist the temptation to let breadth of interest take the place of clarity of vision.

To no contemporary movement has this more direct reference than to Unitarianism and its allied liberal religious groups. Intimately bound up with religious programs and organizations which run back into history and responsive to contemporary tendencies in the realm of the higher life, liberalism in general and Unitarianism in particular are peculiarly liable to be forced into obscure definitions. In this way both sets of values—the traditional and those which belong to the future—seem to be taken care of. Perhaps, on the contrary, they are both betrayed. This is a question which all contemporary liberals have to decide, if they are once again to serve as religious pioneers. By far the easier course will be to continue to avoid the issue by standing now for one set of ideals and now for another; by not really focussing issues, but sort of focussing them. This box-camera attitude has apparently proved to be alluring.

A crucial instance is the relation of religion to supernaturalism. No one has a right to insist that Unitarianism or any form of religious liberalism must necessarily be anti-supernaturalistic, or even that it must be either supernaturalistic or anti-supernaturalistic. The case is different, however, with the individual liberal. He must be one or the other. Or if he takes the dualistic position, he should at least be able to present it in focus. That is precisely what is not being done. The recent volume, "Humanist Sermons,"* a notable document, illustrates the fact. Assertions which read supernaturalism out of religion stand side by side with the qualifying statements which retain it. The form in which it is read out is generally made clear and some reasons are usually offered why it must be read out. But the form in which it is retained is not made clear and scarcely any attempt is made to adduce reasons for its retention. Services in Unitarian and other liberal churches show a similar ambiguity. Certain ministers are willing to go a long distance towards taking emotional advantage of traditional religious symbols which they have demonstrated to be without meaning. In a word, on this issue of the supernatural in religion, liberals and even radicals are in danger of becoming as vague as the Modernists.

Taken by itself the question may not be of great import. But until it is clearly faced, the place of the church in the community of the future remains in doubt. The church as we know it is organized around the idea of supernaturalism. Has it any function in the life of man when not so oriented? There may be several good ways of arriving at an answer, but blurring the problem would not seem to be one of them. Dependence upon the everlasting arms underneath has given men hope in dark hours and has sustained them in times of despair. Faith in a cosmic purpose has illuminated men's pathway. And the Church has been

*Published by the Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago.

the popular center through which this support and guidance have been supplied. Perhaps men may find all they need, even if less than they desire, in each other. Possibly there is nothing else to depend upon. There are those who claim that in spite of appearances the church has become obsolete as a vital community organization; that the unchanging needs which this institution once took care of in the traditional form must in the future be taken care of in other ways. Whatever the facts may be, the problem itself is too far reaching in its consequences to be ignored through confusion of terms. Some agency to unite men in the quest for a higher life seems still possible as it is still desirable. And those who are vigorous in their insistance upon the futility of the agency we are best acquainted with are under obligation to suggest the type of agency in which they put their trust.

This is not a plea for facile definition nor is it an argument that all that enters into human life can be precisely defined. Over and above all our words and thoughts hovers the eternal mystery of things. No conceptual scheme can make clear what the universe, or life, or even a single human career is all about. But we can do better than form our thinking after the box-camera model; we can be as clear as possible about next steps; we can refuse to use terms with looser meanings than the unavoidable complexity of facts forces upon us. And a point on which liberal leadership might well expend some effort is the one under discussion—the point of supernaturalism. Is it to be continued as a part of religious belief? If so, in what sense? If not, what exactly shall be the future function of "Unitarian and other liberal churches"?

M. C. Otto.

Jottings

Good for the resigning Daughters of the American Revolution! These are faithful to the great tradition. They are doing precisely what their fathers did—stepping out of a society which is subversive of the rights and privileges of a free people.

We sent a printed sermon-pamphlet to a friend in Russia the other day, and it came back nicely marked, *"Retour comme Interdit à l'entrée par l'Administration des ouvrages des presse."* And the joke is that the sermon was on companionate marriage!

We see that Lindbergh applied the other day for the renewal of his license as an airpilot. We hope that the license bureau carefully scrutinized this application. In a business as dangerous as flying, no risks should be taken in the matter of granting licenses.

"Ludendorff," says Marshall Foch, "was a genius amongst commanders-in-chief." What a delightful compliment to oneself! How better could Foch praise the man who defeated Ludendorff!

Every now and then there dies a man who is conspicuously described in the public press as a "sportsman." Whenever we see this, we marvel—first, that any man can willingly spend his life in such fashion; and, secondly, that any society can be so organized as to permit a man to spend his life in such fashion.

Indiana seems to be eager to rob Philadelphia of its immortal characterization—"corrupt and contented."

J. H. H.

American Notes—The Connecticut Valley

(Editorial Correspondence)

I have been spending several days in the Connecticut Historical Society's Library, Hartford. It is full of invaluable books and records. I have been on the trail of my ancestors—as the deacon says when he takes the boys to the circus, "all for the sake of my children"—who don't care a whoop for it.

I have found out where history is made. Geneological books are not satisfactory—though personally I have no reason to complain and am glad that my ancestors are mentioned as having played a part in the dim past drama of life.

The Connecticut Valley is the breeding place of inventions—at least it was. Where did the Yankee get his inventive ability, that has doubled the size of the Patent-office in Washington, D. C.? And why has New England been the hot-house of reform? Here is my conclusion. It is a fact, that more than half of the reform movements in America have come directly from New England, or New Englanders,—prohibition, abolition of slavery, women's suffrage, free schools, libraries, coeducation—mention a few that have not. Now, why? You will notice a New Englander, or one of his descendants, and you will see that he is restless until a thing is made better—a cellar, a yard, a park, even his neighbor! He is generally free to say so. This is not from a desire to meddle or to be disagreeable. He is generally impersonal about it. He likes to see things and people improve. Well, granted that—why this inventive and reform faculty? There were about 25,000 English people in New England in 1650.

By 1700 there were about one million descendants of the 25,000. Pure English, nearly. The climate is not an easy one;—this creating a necessity. They were also cut off from supplies by an ocean, and by unfriendly legislation—resulting in their being thrown back upon themselves.

Let me however give what I believe to be the chief cause, or causes, of the inventive and reforming faculty of the Yankee. It is religious. His whole religious system—which permeated three-fourths of his life, demanded three things: self-control, self-examination and passion for righteousness. Every other person kept a diary. They were taught to write down their ideas, to mention wherein they had done well, and wherein they had not. Every one was encouraged to self-reformation. The severest criticism of Puritanism is its habit of introspection. Whatever may be said against the practice—it meant *thinking*. And, thinking is the mother of invention. Then, add to this that the Puritan was taught to measure his life and the life of his neighbor up against the righteousness of God,—and you have the reformer added to the inventor. I venture to say, that there has not been a conspicuous reform movement in America that has not had religion at the heart. I am not speaking of the church, but of religion.

I suspect that the things that make America different from many other nations have been her free schools, supported by taxation of all, her democratic institutions, and such reforms as have been mentioned—and the driving, creative forces behind these have been religion. I find evidence of this in nearly every page I turn of the Connecticut Valley history. I read of Rev. Thomas Robbins traveling on a lecture tour, on the Western Reserve, with Horace Mann as his secretary. I read of the first written Constitution embodying democratic principle,—it was at Hartford, and Rev. Thomas Hooker was the chief promoter. That was in 1639! I read of the people who first taxed themselves for free schools, of their own determination, as to methods and teacher, and it was done by the church-community of Dorchester, Mass.

A study of these 25,000 English people in New England, or what they did, how they were different, what they produced; governing ideas; main institutions; phases of democracy that appeared, when and how—would reveal one of the most thrilling periods in the history of man. It would also show us some of the ways to gain back the priceless principles of democracy, that many people, among them President Butler, think we are in danger of losing.

I have an idea that the Valley of the Connecticut is quite as important as the Valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates—and excavations in this Valley would reveal rich finds. I make the suggestion, that Henry Ford instead of spending all on furniture relics, take half of what he is spending for old clocks and cutlery and wagons and spend it on digging up the ideas and principles, in the Valley and on the Bay, that made him (the best part of him) and that gave brilliance to American history. It is also recommended to the foundations of Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller to send out an excavation commission.

But, why wait for excavations? Two interesting women I met yesterday are about to try to secure the houses of Mark Twain, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Charles Dudley Warner—here in the same block—in the hope of turning them into fitting memorials, with a park attachment. These houses sheltered Hartford's literary colony, and may easily be regarded as landmarks of the nation. One house is where Mrs. Stowe spent her last days. Another house is where Huckleberry Finn was written, along with others of Twain's works. One of the ladies referred to is Katherine S. Day, who is a Hooker-Beecher descendant, really looks like Henry Ward Beecher,—owns the Stowe house, and is willing to turn her home into the general scheme, besides doing a lot of work necessary to bring the plans to pass. With her was Edith Bramhall Cullis of Boston, who is working to the same end. They are meeting with two main difficulties—greed of real estate speculators, and indifference on the part of the public. Some of the more intelligent business men see that the creation of these literary shrines might become an asset, that people would be drawn from far and near to visit the shrine of this trio.

I hope that the plan will go through. Taking them together, the trio presents a fine example of literary Puritan products. I remember John P. Fletcher, English Quaker, saying a few years ago, that when he was in prison, during the war, as a C. O. he read Huckleberry Finn through 40 times; that he regarded it as a classic, in the study of the working of conscience. The ladies want a couple of hundred thousand dollars and then some more later. They think that the city would help when the scheme reached a respectable point. Personally, I believe that 100,000 boys could be found who would give 100,000 dollars for the Twain house. Also, the Negroes of the land would gave $100,000 with a rush for the Harriet Beecher Stowe house. As for the Charles Dudley Warner—seems to me some general collection from literary clubs, or newspaper people would bring the amount. If there are any suggestions I suspect Miss Katherine S. Day would be pleased to receive them. Half way between New York and Boston is Hartford—and I can see tens of thousands of tourists—domestic and foreign—stopping to visit, as at Stratford-in-Avon between London and Liverpool, the shrines of the literary trio—Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner. Many people would pause for weeks to study—as naturally these houses would become deposits of all that would bear upon the famous writers.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Eloi

Dear Lord, there must be bounds
  To our pass, here?
"Behold my wounds—
  The cross—the spear!"

Some little comfort, Lord,
  Our lives can take?
"Such, fools afford:
  The striving wake!"

And shall I make no cry,
  Receive no crumb?
"Until thou—die,
  Grieving, be dumb!"

DOROTHY LEONARD.

A Century of the American Peace Movement

The American Peace Society was organized May 8, 1828; and its centennial has been observed by a Peace Conference at Cleveland, Ohio. This Society was constituted through the federation of some thirty local peace societies, which had gradually come into existence during the preceding dozen years. The new general society was organized in the home of David Low Dodge in New York, who in the summer of 1815 had founded the New York Peace Society, the first peace society in the world. The inspiring and directing man in effecting the new federation was William Ladd, a retired sea captain of Minot, Maine, a Harvard graduate, a man of profound humanitarian sentiments, who eventually became a Baptist minister. He had early become interested in the work of the Massachusetts Peace Society, which was organized by Noah Worcester and William Ellery Channing in Boston in Christmas week in 1815, and had himself formed half a dozen auxiliaries to that society. It is not too much to say that up to the time of his death in 1841 William Ladd was the most constructive force in the American peace movement.

But it was not William Ladd nor David Low Dodge who sounded the first stirring and influential note in that movement. That note was sounded by Noah Worcester, whose famous tractate, "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War," was published on Christmas day, 1815. This was after the preparation of Dodge's essays, but it produced a far greater effect. Worcester arraigned with deep conviction and great power the wickedness, waste and futility of the whole war system, and urged its supplanting by rational and legal procedure, a federation of nations and a world court. Worcester was a New Hampshire Congregational minister, who in his youth had served in the War of the Revolution. His later years were passed in the vicinity of Boston.

The four founders of the American peace movement were profoundly religious men—Dodge a Presbyterian, Worcester a Congregationalist, Channing a Unitarian, and Ladd a Baptist—and their dominant motive was the religious motive. They all felt that war was inconsistent with the religion of Christ and with the life of men as rational beings and children of God. The identification of peace doctrine with the Christian religion was so complete in the mind of David Low Dodge that membership in the Christian church was a condition of membership in the New York Peace Society at the beginning. He felt that devotion to peace was an inherent Christian duty. It will be remembered that Edward Everett Hale used to say that no church today which did not have a Committee on International Justice was up to date or doing its duty. Today it is simple justice to say that the strongest force in the American peace movement is that of the Christian churches, which are almost a unit in its support. Indeed, there is more long-range statesmanship in our pulpit than in the Senate at this hour.

"War Inconsistent With the Religion of Jesus Christ" was the title of the work prepared for the press by Mr. Dodge in 1812, published in the very midst of our war with England. Three years before, he had published a pamphlet arraigning the war system, entitled "The Mediator's Kingdom Not of This World." In August, 1815, the New York Peace Society was organized with Mr. Dodge as its president. This was four months before the organization of the Massachusetts Peace Society, which quickly became the leading society, and nearly a year before the organization of the English Peace Society, the first in Europe, June 14th, 1816. It will be noted that these peace societies were born immediately after Waterloo, which marked the close of the long period of the Napoleonic wars. On December 2, 1815, a number of citizens of Warren County, Ohio, established a peace society, owing its inspiration to Worcester's powerful appeal. There were thus three American peace societies in existence before the establishment of the London society. The year 1815 is a far more important date in the history of the American peace movement than 1828.

David Low Dodge's two historic essays, such memorable classics in our American peace movement, have been published together in a little volume by the World Peace Foundation in Boston, accompanied by a brief biography and a portrait, a singularly refined and noble face. David Low Dodge was born in 1774, in that part of Pomfret, Connecticut, which is now Brooklyn. This was the home of Israel Putnam; and David Dodge's father was Putnam's neighbor. 1774 was the year before Lexington and Bunker Hill; and the horrors of war were early brought home to the boy. He remembered hearing the distant cannonading when New London was burned by the British, and the news the next morning that the forts were stormed and the garrison put to the sword. It was not until he was thirty years old that he went to New York, which was ever afterwards his home until his death in 1852. Becoming a great merchant, he was the founder of the illustrious New York Dodge family, to which have belonged William E. Dodge, the head of the great house of Phelps, Dodge & Company, and long a member of Congress, his son, William E. Dodge, equally eminent as a philanthropist and a leader in the cause of international arbitration, and in our time Cleveland H. Dodge—all names synonymous with public spirit and generous benefaction.

If Immanuel Kant, profoundest of peace philosophers, was right in identifying the cause of peace with the cause of freedom, then our New World republic was predestined to be the cradle of the peace movement. Kant, who was so profoundly interested in the American Revolution and the founding of our republic, spoke prophetically when he said: "If happy circumstances bring it about that a powerful and enlightened people form themselves into a republic—which by its very nature must be disposed in favor of perpetual peace—this will furnish a center of federative union for other states to attach themselves to; and such a union would extend wider and wider by the addition of other connections of this kind." It would have seemed incredible to Kant that our republic, called and pledged to leadership by every principle of its history, its high tradition and its federal constitution, should be today the one great nation to stand aloof from the organized family of nations, uncooperative and ineffectual. It would have seemed incredible to the prophetic founders of the American Peace Society, whose famous program was the program of Geneva and The Hague today. It would have seemed incredible to the founders of the republic.

The founders of the American republic were the pre-eminent peace statesmen of their age. "My first wish," said Washington, "is to see war, the plague of mankind, banished from the earth." "There never was," said Franklin repeatedly, "a good war nor a bad peace." Jefferson was the great internationalist of his age. It is interesting at this time to remember that on the eve of the organization of the Massachusetts Peace Society Noah Worcester wrote to Jefferson expressing his gratitude for Jefferson's strong peace utterances and commending to his attention his "Solemn Review of the Custom of War" and other peace writings, which he sent him. Jefferson responded in a long and sympathetic letter concluding with "a sincere wish that your writings may have effect in lessening this greatest of human evils, and that you may retain life and health to enjoy the contemplation of this happy spectacle."

The labors of Worcester and Ladd in those early days were prodigious. Some time before, in cooperation with Channing, he organized the Massachusetts Peace Society, Worcester started his little "Friend of Peace," the first peace journal in the world. This was followed before the organization of the American Peace Society by the "Harbinger of Peace," edited by William Ladd; and this in 1834 by the "Advocate of Peace," first published at Hartford as a quarterly, and still existing as the monthly organ of the Peace Society. At the time of the removal of the Society's headquarters to Boston, Ladd was the president of the Society and editor of the Advocate, and George Beckwith was the Society's secretary, succeeding Ladd in the editorship and continuing as secretary and editor through what was perhaps the most eventful period of its history, the period of the great International Peace Congresses in the middle of the last century. Ladd became the preeminent apostle of the program of international federation and an international court.

The first great International Peace Congress, at London in 1843, was planned by the American Peace Society, at the instigation of Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, then visiting America; and Elihu Burritt was the chief inspirer and organizer of the four great congresses that followed, at Brussels (1848), Paris (1849), Frankford (1850), and London (1851). Burritt was the preeminent exponent at those congresses of "the American Way"—the designation given to the program of international federation and a world court as the true means to world peace. Burritt's own speeches at those four congresses, all on a Congress of Nations, have been published in one of the old South leaflets, sold for a few cents, so that all may see how the American peace leaders then were demanding what Woodrow Wilson and Elihu Root have since been demanding and instituting.

In 1849 Charles Sumner, who had become a member of the executive committee of the Peace Society, delivered at its annual meeting his great address on "The War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," advocating with great power Ladd's and Burritt's plan of a Congress and Court of Nations. Four years before, in 1845, Sumner had begun his public career by his powerful Fourth of July oration in Boston on "The True Grandeur of Nations." The peace cause always lay as close to his heart as anti-slavery. These two famous addresses, with his address in 1870 on "The Duel between France and Germany," have been published in a single volume by the World Peace Foundation; and it is not too much to say that nowhere else is the war system so powerfully and conclusively arraigned and the cause of international peace and order so conclusively argued.

With the passing of Ladd and Burritt and Sumner, the pioneering and heroic period in the history of the American Peace Society may be said to have closed. But too high honor cannot be paid to the work of Benjamin F. Trueblood, the secretary of the Society for almost a quarter of a century beginning with 1892. It was the period of the great new series of International Peace Congresses, at most of which in Europe he was active, and our four National Peace Congresses—New York (1907), Chicago (1909), Baltimore (1911), and St. Louis (1913), all of which were held under the auspices of the American Peace Society. Dr. Trueblood's book on "International Federation" is the best brief book on the subject.

It is not a purpose of the present survey to consider governmental activities. The record of the United States in international arbitration is a preeminently noble record. Our consistent and conspicuous championship, from the days of Franklin and Jefferson, of the freedom of the seas is one of our proudest services. Our participation in the work of the Interparliamentary Union has been cordial and effective. Our work at The Hague conferences for the International Arbitration Tribunal and for a Court of International Justice was signal. When the World Court was finally established Elihu Root, who as our Secretary of State had most strongly urged its creation upon the Second Hague Conference, was perhaps the most influential member of the commission which organized it. Geneva never forgets nor fails to commemorate, even though his own country failed so mournfully in the fateful hour, that the real founder of the League of Nations was Woodrow Wilson. Here, however, we are concerned simply with the voluntary agencies for affecting public opinion; and in the century the American Peace Society has been the chief of these, and until twenty years ago was almost the sole agency.

In the years immediately preceding the World War great new peace agencies were coming into the field—the World Peace Foundation, the Carnegie Peace Endowment, and the Church Peace Union, with vastly larger resources and more efficient organization than those of the Peace Society, from which the leadership in the movement now passed. It also passed because the Peace Society in the critical and pregnant reconstruction period following the World War did not take the courageous and prophetic position that the situation demanded. It was hard to tell whether the Society and its organ were friendly or unfriendly to President Wilson and Mr. Root in their great efforts to establish the League of Nations and the World Court. They distilled no "astral spirits" and gave no light to the aspiring but floundering American people. It has sounded no note against the Government's mournful course in Nicaragua, nor its recent big navy program, the last checked only by the great uprising of the people. It was the uprising of the people and the intelligence and firmness of the press, scolded by the President for meddling with the administration's foreign policies, which alone, without help from the Peace Society, saved us from catastrophe in Mexico two years ago. At the Cleveland convention, which is to be warmly thanked for the many good things said and done there, our course in Nicaragua was actually whitewashed, and that in a speech by a spokesman of the minority government in Nicaragua kept in power by our bayonets. The subject

could at least have been ignored. How championship of our course could be related to the cause of peace it is hard to discern. Any apology surely should have been linked with the demand that any such intervention, if conceivably compelled by menacing disorders, should always be by a group of nations, never by a single nation open to suspicion of selfish motives. Deserved criticism should not more be withheld than deserved praise —such praise as is on all our tongues for the splendid Kellogg proposal of a world treaty renouncing war as a public policy. In the braver time the Peace Society did not shrink from confronting the government when the government sponsored policies opposed to its principles. At the time of the Mexican war the president of the Society was William Jay; and he wrote a book to denounce the war as sharply as Dr. Trueblood half a century later criticized our war with Spain and the resulting Philippine inquity; and Charles Sumner prepared the stinging resolutions adopted by the Massachusetts Legislature condemning the war.

In Washington itself the new National Council for the Prevention of War seems already much more active and vital, with more widespread influence, than the Peace Society, which has been so hesitating and timid in its policies. The Church Peace Union, with a vision and energy which command the approbation and gratitude of all the strong peace forces, is effectually making the appeal to the religious sentiment of the country on which the founders of the American Peace Society placed a main reliance.

Yet surely a useful and noble future is possible for the American Peace Society worthy of its illustrious past. Certain things are no longer in its province, because there are now better instruments for them. The Carnegie Peace Endowment and the World Peace Foundation will do the work for scholars. Learned and documentary publications are for them. In the spread of important literature and the broad promotion of international intercourse the Carnegie Endowment is at this time entering upon an ambitious and potential new era. But we have got to learn in the peace movement, what Jefferson and Lincoln taught us in other fields, that in this new democratic world, if we would bring things to pass, we must reach the plain people. They do not go to expensive dinners, nor to conventions in distant cities; but they do read, they are eager to hear the man with a message, and they vote. The Peace Society could render a distinct and timely service by turning its monthly magazine into an up-to-date weekly journal, vital and resolute, with the latest international news from everywhere, and the bravest discussions by our ablest peace workers and thinkers. The plain people distrust peace advocates who "walk delicately" before the militarist crowd; and few of them sit up nights in fear of "radicals." Peace people themselves remember that the founders of the American Peace Society were radicals. David Low Dodge was an uncompromising non-resistant, as he believed Jesus Christ was. William Ladd, in the beginning sanctioning "distinctly defensive" wars, ultimately came to Dodge's position. Noah Worcester, sanctioning "defensive" war, conducted on "Christian principles," investigated the causes of all the important wars since Constantine, 286 of them, and could find none which was truly defensive. Elihu Burritt was a non-resistant, and in 1846 he and other radical directors of the Peace Society resigned from the board because they could not work harmoniously with the more conservative elements. Radicalism was the last thing feared or dreaded by the early leaders of the American Peace Society. Most of them were willing to work cordially with anybody opposed to war as a way of settling disputes between nations; but radicalism was the rule, and it was the conservatives who were "tolerated."

That is the spirit needed today. Our radicalisms may be different from the radicalisms of 1828, although this is not so true of the peace movement as for most movements. I am not of those who believe that non-resistance is necessary for the salvation of the soul or of the nation. But I am of those who believe that if long rope is to be given to anybody in our struggle against the monstrous war system, it should be given to the conscientious radical so much in earnest that he does not take two bites at a cherry, to the prophet and the pioneer. That is the great lesson to be learned from the founders of the American Peace Society.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

To Celestino Madeiros

"But the other....rebuked him, saying...we receive the due reward of our deeds, but this man hath done nothing amiss....And Jesus said unto him...Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise." Luke 23:40 41, 43. "I am a murderer and a thief, but these men are innocent."—From the last words of Celestino Madeiros.

Murderer, thief,
Both self confessed;
For aye from grief
Come take thy rest.

Because your feeble strength you gave
In vain, to save them from the grave
Unmerited,
Upon thy head
Be the blessing Christ hath spoken—
When on the cross His life was broken,
When on the tree His life was spilt
To cleanse us all from all our guilt—
As well to thee as to the thief
Who, striving there for His relief,
Won thus the New Jerusalem.

Fully hath been paid thy price.
Thou art with them,
In Paradise.

KENNETH W. PORTER

The Study Table

Christopher Columbus Revealed!

After all these years, we at last have the facts, so-called, about Columbus. This famous man, we are now told in this new biography,* just published, was not a great man at all. On the contrary, his greatness is nothing but a part of the silly tale which has been woven about this "sentimentalized hero of the world's schoolbooks" by men more enthusiastic than honest.

Christopher Columbus, as a matter of fact, was a vicious charlatan, who fooled his own age, and all posterity as well. He was throughout his career a braggart and a liar, a man ignorant, unscrupulous, and dishonest. As a seaman, he was an idle boaster who knew not how to sail a ship. As an admiral of Castile, he was a traitor who deserved to be shot. As a discoverer he was a mere adventurer who certainly did not discover the lands with which his name has been inextricably associated. Columbus simply "put it over" on Ferdinand and Isabella, on the famous chronicler, Las Casas, and on everybody else so far as I can make it. Not till this man, André, came along was the truth revealed, and now he makes it known to the rest of humankind.

I have tried to be fair with André. I have read his admirably printed book from cover to cover, with every endeavor to let him prove his case if he could do so. What I find is a confirmation of certain faults and failings in Columbus which are perfectly familiar; a deliberate attempt to boost Roman Catholicism and to pour contempt upon the Jews; and the wildest collection of slanderous suggestions and assertions on the slenderest basis of evidence that it has ever been my unhappy lot to see. I print this review only to warn UNITY's readers against this unworthy volume. It marks the very dregs of the day's fashionable biography of exposure. Than this there can be nothing lower, so perhaps the end of this new school of writing is at hand. If so, André has achieved much good, after all.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Streaks of Fat and Lean

The only book harder to read than a symposium is the dictionary. Professor Jerome Davis has pressed into a field from which angels have retired in some shame of face. The Holy Bible is a symposium, and for some little time has been a fairish sort of best seller. But its most ardent readers will agree that it has taken the superlative merits of Isaiah, and the Gospel of John, and the Epistles to the Corinthians, to carry along Leviticus and the so-called Song of Songs, the books of the Chronicles and the Epistle of Jude.

"Christianity and Social Adventuring"† is Professor Davis's second essay in the wilderness of symposia. His courage seems undaunted, and there is doubtless danger that he will try even yet again. For his own contribution at the close of this book, and his introduction reveal no dampening of ardor. He dares even to single out Mr. Borah's scissors product, not alone for first rank among his chapters, but for a note of special commendation in the introduction.

There is a rather high average of dead wood in this book, as there is a higher or lower in every symposium. Yet it is to be noted gratefully that Professor Davis has succeeded better here than in his former compilation, "Business and the Church." In this book quite a number of his contributors really know what they are talking about, stick to their subject, and show a high order of skill in their statement.

Such religious leaders as Dr. Fosdick and Bishop McConnell, Dr. Steiner and Ernest Johnson, are not given an opportunity to discuss such a subject without something's coming which is highly worthy of attention. Harrison Elliott's contribution on Mental Hygiene is exceedingly effective. Dr. Galloway's on Social Hygiene is more superficial than was to be expected. Professor Weigle leaves much to be said on The Church and Education, and shows how a good deal which he does say might be said better. What Mr. Mott says of the Y. M. C. A. and the Churches he has said one hundred and seventy-six times elsewhere. What Mr. Lathrop says of the Local Jail needs to be embossed in a public proclamation and put into the hands of the town-crier in every considerable community in the United States. Dr. Cabot's short dissertation on Ministering to the Handicapped is doubtless in place in the book from which it is excerpted, but it is disappointing here.

Among the representatives of the profession of social workers there is generally the stagnation and rigid regimentation of ideas which is now so widely complained of. As for their attitude toward organized religion, they here as generally either snub the church or complacently and perfunctorily pat it on the back.

The discussions by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church confirm the general understanding that Catholic leaders have a long way to go before they catch up with the procession. Whether they will still be leaders in the Roman Catholic Church when they do catch up is a question which need not be raised here.

Professor Davis's own contribution at the close of the book shows vigor and evidences of the enthusiasm which must be ardent indeed to hold him to his accepted task of making such a diverse group talk on the same subject and say things worth while. He shows a naivete which may later desert him. He seems not very seriously to have asked himself "Quo vadis?" He tells with much enthusiasm of achievements in social adventure which he has observed and of which he has been the moving spirit. But what of it all? Perhaps he has himself not stopped searchingly to ask. He must know that his definition of Christianity is not acceptable to the large majority of those who most vehemently profess allegiance.

Furthermore, he, like numbers of his contributors, tacitly accepting their private or group definition, invest it with a sacredness which demands that all who use the term shall concede on pain of apostasy. Heretics have themselves an easy way of reading out of the fellowship those who have read them out. One wonders if the cause of righteousness and peace and good will among men would not be much more effectively advanced if we quit talking so much about what is good Christianity or good churchmanship or good conformity to any set phrases or formulas, and bent energies more directly to effecting what is good for people, what they know

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*"Columbus," by Marius André. Published by Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

†"Christianity and Social Adventuring," edited by Jerome Davis. Published by the Century Company.

to be good for them, and what the tests of wide social experience demonstrate to be good.

Although this is not a particularly good book, there is enough good to justify looking into it. A symposium has at least this virtue: it is easy to skip through—if you don't have to review it! You can take what you want and leave the rest. Probably most thoughtful readers will find a good deal to "take" in this book.

J. E. McAfee.

Book Notes

The Point of View of Paul Carus. Edited by Catherine Cook. Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago.

This anthology gives an insight into the many-sided mind of Paul Carus, who for twenty-five years edited the Open Court Magazine and The Monist Quarterly. Dr. Carus held that terms should be defined by being expounded, consequently it is to be expected that his works would abound in concise statements of fundamental matters. Miss Cook has chosen the high spots in the writings of Dr. Carus and arranged them under eighteen major headings. The volume has ample marginal source citations and an excellent index. The format is superb.

Heavenly Discourse. Charles Erskine Scott Wood. Vanguard Press, New York.

A witty and audacious account of the heavenly discourses of Socrates, Voltaire, Franklin, Margaret Fuller, Carrie Nation, Mark Twain, Anthony Comstock and the cosmic celebrities.

Christianity. By Charles Guignebert. Macmillan Co., New York.

Here is a book of the first importance and it should be in every minister's library. The author, who is professor of History of Christianity in the University of Paris, holds that original Christianity was so essentially oriental that the Western world never really became Christian in anything but name. The Christ of the Catholics and the Master of the Protestants bear little resemblance to the Jesus of history, who sprang from the milieu of his day. The period of formal Christianity is drawing to a close. The modern mind will not stop at any of the Protestant formulations. The Greek Church will perish unless it finds a way to adjust itself to new religious needs. Catholicism can no longer evolve. Such seems to be the way with all religions. They are born of needs but become fixed, then break up and return to the eternal crucible. The chapter on Renaissance humanism is especially interesting, but every chapter is excellent.

Curtis W. Reese.

Correspondence

Some Questions About Outlawry

Editor of Unity:

I go all the way with Unity in its rejoicing over Secretary Kellogg's proposal of a multilateral treaty. But I deprecate what seems to me the excessive emphasis upon the outlawing or delegalizing of war which appears in Unity, as in the utterances of Dr. Morrison, Mr. Levinson, Mr. Robins, and others.

It is noticeable that in Secretary Kellogg's letters to M. Briand and in his recent speeches he rarely if ever uses the words *outlawry* or *delegalize*. He speaks of the "renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy," of the "abolition of war as an institution," of an "anti-war treaty," of the "unqualified renunciation of war." But he does not stress the item of legality, and in his draft of a treaty there is nothing about law or legality or crime or sanctions or a court or code of international law, things which have bulked large in the pleas of the outlawrists. It is simply proposed to abandon war and use only pacific means in settling all future disputes.

It is true that such a treaty would be the outlawing or delegalizing of war as between the nations signing it. I think I was one of the first to call attention to the fact that the Scandinavian countries that were making all-inclusive arbitration treaties with one another were really *outlawing* war as between themselves although war might not even be mentioned in those treaties. And I have pleaded for the adoption of such a piecemeal method of outlawing war rather than to seek at once for a worldwide agreement and a world code in which war should be branded as a "crime," as the outlawrists were advocating. Such words as *law* and *crime* and *penalty*, when used of nations, are dangerously misleading. Those words derive their meaning for the most part from the relations of individuals. But nations can not reasonably be judged or treated as individuals can be. The personification of nations is perhaps the chief source of fallacy and folly in international theory and practice. The late Dr. Dole—whom I called my Mentor in pacifism—could not abide the slogan proclaimed a few years ago and now widely current: "Law—not War." Law seemed to him of little value in international relations, compared with common sense and good will.

The fact which Unity and other ardent proponents of outlawry seem to me to disregard is that technical legality is by no means the most important element in the strength of an institution. On the contrary, legality may be, as it often has been, a negligible element. It is public opinion, prevailing sentiment and conviction that are crucial. Public opinion unsupported by law, or even contrary to law, is more powerful than law unsupported by public opinion. "Let me write the songs of a people, and I care not who writes the laws."

I question Mr. Levinson's statement that every "institution" is legal. Lynching negroes is a custom so well established in some parts of our country that it may properly be called an institution, I think. But it is absolutely without warrant in law.

Dueling gives outlawrists their favorite illustration. Dueling was not abolished by law but rather by public opinion, the public opinion aroused especially by the killing of a great statesman and strengthened by Lyman Beecher's famous sermon on the proposition that the duelist is a murderer, and by like utterances of other moral leaders.

Outlawrists do not like to refer to prohibition in this country. The liquor traffic has been outlawed. But public opinion in large sections of our population does not approve of the eighteenth amendment or of the Volstead Act. Accordingly the liquor traffic, although delegalized, is not abolished, and corruption abounds among those whose official duty it is to enforce the prohibition law.

Because I believe with Secretary Kellogg that in all nations "the common people are of one mind in their desire to see the abolition of war as an institution," so that the proposed multilateral treaty will register a genuine and predominant public opinion against war, I rejoice that our government, sensing the situation, is leading the nations in the path of peace by declaring its readiness to abandon war if they will do the same.

Henry W. Pinkham.

Newton Centre, Mass.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

WALT WHITMAN FELLOWSHIP OF CHICAGO

The Annual celebration in honor of the poet's birth will be held Thursday evening, May 31st, 1928 at the Morrison Hotel, Chicago. Dinner and celebration, $2.25. Seats will be reserved in the order of receipt. Celebration without the dinner, fifty cents.

NATIONAL PLATFORM SOCIALIST PARTY, 1928, PREAMBLE

[We print this platform not because UNITY is a Socialist paper, not because we would propagandize in favor of Socialism, but because the Socialist Party is entitled to its share of publicity and can only get it in the liberal press. The daily newspapers will all carry the Republican and Democratic platforms in full, but few carried the Socialist platform even in part. Furthermore, we believe that we are serving the interests of our readers in printing a document which has importance in the social thinking of this country and which they will probably not find elsewhere.—EDITOR.]

We Americans are told that we live in the most prosperous country in the world. Certainly, our natural resources, our mechanical equipment, our physical power, the technical capacity of our engineers, and the skill of our workers in farm and factory make it possible for us to attain a level of well being of which our fathers never dared to dream.

Yet poverty abounds. The owners of our natural resources and industrial equipment and the government which they have made virtually their tool have not given us plenty, freedom or peace in any such degree as we have the right and duty to demand.

Men are hungry, while farmers go bankrupt for lack of effective demand for food. Tenant farming has reached a proportion of almost 40%; more than 40% of the value of farm lands is covered by mortgages. Industrial workers are scarcely better off. In good years there are at least 1,000,000 unemployed. By a conservative estimate in these times of stock market prosperity, the number has arisen to 4,000,000. About one-third of those of our population 65 years of age and upward, are at least partially dependent upon some form of charity. While real wages have arisen for certain groups, they have arisen scarcely more than half the increase in the productive power of the workers. And what gains have been made are far from universal, as the misery of textile workers or the tragedy of the coal fields —to cite only two examples — abundantly proves. In fact at the present time a majority of workers obtain a salary insufficient to maintain themselves and families in health and decency. Furthermore the rapid increase in the use of machinery and the growing intensity of work are leading to quicker exhaustion and ever greater insecurity.

Meanwhile the owning class has been using the government to curtail the power of the workers whose organized might, especially through their unions, has been chiefly responsible for whatever material gains they have made. To curb the workers, civil liberties are denied, injunctions are invoked against union activities and the courts are made the instruments of class justice of which the Mooney case and the legalized murder of Sacco and Vanzetti were conspicous examples.

Not only plenty and freedom but peace is endangered by this system under which the many are exploited for the profit of the few. Sons of the workers now die in President Coolidge's infamous little imperialistic war in Nicaragua as they died in President Wilson's similar wars in Haiti, Santo Domingo and Mexico, and above all in that great imperialistic war born of the trade and financial rivalries of the nations which cost our country tens of thousands of lives and tens of billions of dollars.

From the wars, waste and cruelty of a system where the rightful heritage of the workers is the private property of the few, only the united efforts of farmers and workers by hand and brain, through their cooperatives, unions and political party, can save us. We must make government in cities, states and nations the servant of the people. That requires our own political party. We cannot place our trust in "good men," or political Messiahs. Bitter experience has proved that we cannot trust the alternate rule of the Republican and Democratic parties. They belong to the landlords, bankers, oil speculators, coal and power barons, in short, to the capitalist class which finances them. Under their control the government, by what it does and leaves undone, by its calculated inefficiency as well as its repression and corruption, makes our alleged democracy largely an illusion. Corruption is natural under parties which are the tools of the forces of privileges. It has become accepted even by the men who are victims of it.

These things need not be. The Socialist party offers itself as the political party of the producing classes, of the workers in farm, mine, factory, or office. It is our political weapon in the class struggle and in its triumph lies our hope of ending that struggle. Our record proves our good faith. As the only democratic labor party in the United States, we stand now as always, in America and in all lands, for the collective ownership of natural resources and basic industries and their democratic management for the use and benefit of all instead of the private profit of the privileged few.

With this ultimate aim in view, the Socialist party enters the presidential campaign of 1928 with the following program:

Public Ownership and Conservation

To recover the rightful heritage of the people we propose:

1. Nationalization of our natural resources, beginning with the coal mines and water sites, particularly at Boulder Dam and Muscle Shoals.

2. A publicly owned giant power system under which the Federal government shall cooperate with the states and municipalities in the distribution of electrical energy to the people at cost. Only when public agencies have full control over the generation, transmission and distribution of electrical power, can the consumers be guaranteed against exploitation by the great electrical interests of the country. Public ownership of these and other industries must include employee representation in the management and the principle of collective bargaining must be recognized.

3. National ownership and democratic management of railroads and other means of transportation and communication.

4. An adequate national program for flood control and flood relief, reforestation, irrigation and reclamation.

Unemployment Relief

To relieve the tragic misery of millions of unemployed workers and their families we propose:

1. The immediate governmental relief of the unemployed by the extension of all public works and a program of long range planning of public works following the present depression. All persons thus employed to be engaged at union hours and wages fixed by bona fide labor unions.

2. Loans to states and municipalities for the purpose of carrying on public works and the taking of such other measures as will lessen widespread misery.

3. A system of unemployment insurance.

4. The nation-wide extension of public employment agencies in cooperation with city federations of labor.

Labor Legislation

The lives and well-being of the producers and their families should be the first charge on society. We therefore urge

1. A system of health and accident insurance and of old age pension as well as unemployment insurance. As long as the workers are dependent primarily upon their employers rather than on the community for protection against the exigencies of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment, employers hostile or indifferent to the labor movement will be able to use their private insurance schemes as powerful weapons against organized labor.

2. Shortening the workday in keeping with the steadily increasing productivity of labor due to improvements in machinery and methods.

3. Securing to every worker a rest period of no less than two days in each week.

4. Enacting of an adequate Federal Anti-Child Labor Amendment.

5. Abolition of the brutal exploitation of convicts under the contract system and substitution of a cooperative organization of industries in penitentiaries and workshops for the benefit of convicts and their dependents, the products to be used in public institutions, and the convict workers to

be employed at wages current in the industry.

6. Legislation aiming at the prevention of occupational diseases.

Taxation

For the proper support of government and as a step toward social justice, we propose:

1. Increase of taxation on high income levels, of corporation taxes and inheritance taxes, the proceeds to be used for old age pensions and other forms of social insurance.

2. Appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation.

Civil Liberties

To secure to the people the civil rights without which democracy is impossible, we demand:

1. Federal legislation to enforce the First Amendment to the Constitution so as to guarantee effectually freedom of speech, press and assembly, and to penalize any official who interferes with the civil rights of any citizen.

2. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes.

3. Repeal of the Espionage law and of other repressive legislation and restoration of civil and political rights to those unjustly convicted under war time laws with reimbursement for time served.

4. Legislation protecting foreign born workers from deportation and refusal of citizenship on account of political opinions.

5. Modification of immigration laws to permit the reuniting of familes and to offer a refuge for those fleeing from political or religious persecution.

6. Abolition of detective agencies engaged in interstate business.

Anti-Lynching

As a measure of protection for the oppressed, especially for our Negro fellow citizens, we propose:

Enactment of the Berger Anti-lynching bill making participation in lynching a felony.

Political Democracy

The Constitution of the United States was drafted in 1787 and was designed to meet conditions utterly different from those prevailing today. In order to make our form of government better suited to the exigencies of the times, we propose the immediate calling of a Constitutional Convention. A modernized Constitution should provide, among other things, for the election of the President and Vice-President by direct vote of the people, for reduction of the representation in Congress of those states where large sections of the citizens are disfranchised, by force or fraud, for proportional representation and for the abolition of the usurped power of the Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress.

Credit and Banking

For our emancipation from the money trust, we propose:

Nationalization of the banking and currency system, beginning with extension of the service of the postal savings banks to cover every department of the banking business.

Farm Relief

The Socialist Party believes that the farmer is entitled to special consideration because of the importance of agriculture, because of the farmers' present economic plight and because the farmer is unable to control the prices of what he buys and what he sells. Many of the party's demands, including public development of electrical energy, nationalization of coal and railroads, and reform of the credit system will be of distinct benefit to the farmer.

As a further means of agricultural relief, we propose:

1. Acquisition by bona fide cooperative societies and by Federal, State and municipal governments of grain elevators, stockyards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies and the conduct of these services on a non-profit basis.

2. Encouragement of farmers' cooperative purchasing and marketing societies and of credit agencies.

3. Social insurance against losses due to adverse weather conditions, such as hail, drought, cyclone and flood.

International Relations

We are unalterably opposed to imperialism and militarism. Therefore we propose:

1. Immediate withdrawal of American forces from Nicaragua, and abandonment of the policy of military intervention in Central America and other countries.

2. That all private loans and investments of American citizens in foreign countries shall be made at the sole risk of the bondholders and investors. The United States government shall not resort to any military or other coercive intervention with foreign countries for the protection of such loans and investments.

3. Cancellation of all war debts due the United States from its former associated powers on condition of a simultaneous cancellation of all inter-allied debts and a corresponding remission of the reparation obligations of the Central Powers and on the further condition that our debtors reduce their military expenditures below pre-war level. The Socialist Party especially denounces the debt settling policy of our government in favoring the Fascist dictatorship of Italy and thereby helping to perpetuate the political enslavement of the Italian nation.

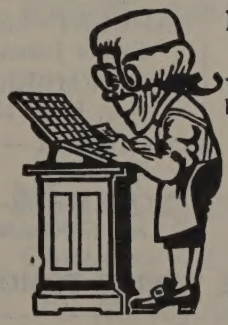
4. Recognizing both the services and the limitations of the League of Nations, the need of revision of its covenant and of the Treaty of Versailles, we unite with the workers of Europe in demanding that the League be made all inclusive and democratic, and that the machinery for the revision of the peace treaties under Article 19 of the Covenant be elaborated and made effective. We favor the entry of the United States into the League of Nations at the time and under the conditions which will further those causes and promote the peace of the world.

5. The recognition of the Russian government.

6. Aggressive activity against militarism, against the large navy and army program of our present administration and in behalf of international disarmament.

7. Treaties outlawing war and the substitution of peaceful methods for the settlement of international disputes.

8. Independence of the Philippines on terms agreed upon in negotiations with the Filipinos; autonomy for Porto Rico and civil government for the Virgin Islands.



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